

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

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DRAFTED BY EUR/WE:REBARBOUR:MS

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EUR - MR. LOWENSTEIN

INR - MR. HYLAND

C - MR. SONNENFELDT

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----- 037377

O 302344Z AUG 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 207610 TOSEC 100376

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: PORTUGUESE SITREP AND REFUGEE

EVACUATION (S/S NO. 7517217)

FOR SECRETARY FROM INGERSOLL

PART I

1. INR AND EUR REGARD THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT CHANGE
AS A SETBACK FOR THE ANTUNES GROUP. DESPITE ITS
PREPONDERANCE OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY STRENGTH, IT
WAS OUTMANEUVERED BY GONCALVES AND THE COMMUNISTS.
IT NOW FACES AN UPHILL STRUGGLE. CRITICAL ELEMENT
IN CURRENT SITUATION IS QUESTION WHETHER REGIONAL
MILITARY COMMANDERS POSSESS DETERMINATION AND
CAPABILITY TO THREATEN A COUP AND CIVIL WAR, SINCE
IT IS UNLIKELY THAT GONCALVES WILL GIVE IN TO PURELY

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POLITICAL PRESSURE.

2. NEW PRIME MINISTER AZEVEDO CONSIDERS HIMSELF PROGRESSIVE RATHER THAN COMMUNIST, BUT PHILOSOPHIES HE MOUTHED TO HARTMAN IN JUNE WERE A VAGUE MIXTURE OF MARXISM AND POPULISM THAT WILL MAKE HIM SUSCEPTIBLE TO COMMUNIST BLANDISHMENTS. GONCALVES AS ARMED FORCES CHIEF OF STAFF WILL BE IN POSITION TO ATTEMPT TO PURGE MODERATE MILITARY OFFICERS, REORGANIZE AFM, AND OF COURSE, GIVE ORDERS TO MILITARY. HOWEVER, DE CARVALHO

AND COPCON WERE PLACED UNDER DIRECT COMMAND OF PRESIDENT FOLLOWING FORMER'S REFUSAL TO TAKE ORDERS FROM GONCALVES. THIS MEANS LATTER WILL LACK CONTROL OVER KEY UNITS. MOREOVER, GONCALVES AS CHIEF OF STAFF IS NOW A DANGEROUS RIVAL OF DE CARVALHO, AND THIS WILL PUSH LATTER FURTHER TOWARDS MODERATES. RE MILITARY, THERE IS CLEAR REACTION IN CENTER AND NORTH AGAINST GONCALVES. CORVACHO RESUMED NORTHERN REGION COMMAND AUGUST 29, BUT TROOP REACTION THERE IS REPORTED TO BE GENERALLY HOSTILE TO HIS RETURN. SOME UNITS ANNOUNCED ON AUGUST 30 THEIR UNILATERAL REMOVAL FROM HIS COMMAND AND TRANSFER TO THAT OF MODERATE CENTRAL REGION COMMANDER. PARTY POSITIONS ARE NOT YET FORMED. EMBASSY LISBON BELIEVES SOCIALISTS, PPD, AND CENTRAL DEMOCRATS WILL REFUSE TO JOIN NEW GOVERNMENT EVEN IF ASKED. ANTUNES GROUP IS PRESUMABLY DISCOURAGED BY ITS FAILURE TO INSTALL SYMPATHETIC GOVERNMENT IN LISBON, BUT MAY NONETHELESS BE CHEERED BY MILITARY REACTION IN CENTER AND NORTH. THEIR OPTIONS CONTINUE TO RANGE FROM MORE POLITICAL MANEUVERING IN LISBON, IN THE THOUGHT THAT THEIR PARTIAL SUCCESS IN OUSTING GONCALVES FROM PM CHAIR SHOWED THAT THEY HAVE ABILITY TO MAKE CHANGES THERE AND THAT AZEVEDO SHOULD BE EASIER TARGET, TO A CLEAR BREAK WITH LISBON. LATTER OPTION WOULD INVOLVE A MOVE TO THE NORTH AND PERHAPS, ULTIMATELY THE USE OF FORCE.

3. AIRLIFT SUPPORT FOR ANGOLAN REFUGEES FROM EAST GERMANS AND SOVIETS WAS ANNOUNCED BY FOREIGN MINISTER AUGUST 30. RUIVO SAID SOVIET TECHNICIANS WOULD ARRIVE SHORTLY AND GDR WOULD MAKE ONE PLANE AVAILABLE. SWEDEN
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ANNOUNCED CONTRIBUTION OF 5 MILLION CROWNS (\$1.15 MILLION).

4. INR AND EUR BELIEVE WE ARE PROBABLY GOING TO SEE A STOCK-TAKING PAUSE AS PARTIES AND FENCE SITTERS ASSESS NEW GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE AND LISBON AGREES THAT ANTUNES GROUP WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE POLITICAL MANEUVERING AND THAT IF THEY MOVE TO NORTH THEIR POSITION WOULD BE TO USE IT AS A POLITICAL RATHER

THAN A MILITARY POWER BASE, AT LEAST INITIALLY.

PART II

5. RECOMMENDATIONS:

OPTION 1:

INGERSOLL, EAGLEBURGER, EUR, AND
AF BELIEVE WE SHOULD NOW START A LOW-LEVEL
AIRLIFT OF TWO FLIGHTS PER DAY USING CIVILIAN
CHARTER AIRCRAFT AND THAT WE SHOULD KEEP OPEN THE
POSSIBILITY OF INCREASING IT OR TERMINATING IT LATER

DEPENDING ON DEVELOPMENTS. (OPTION B TOSEC 100344). THIS
SHOULD TAKE CARE OF CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC PRESSURE NEXT
WEEK. IMPLEMENTATION COULD BEGIN IN 48-72 HOURS (PORTU-
GUESE WANT 48-HOUR ADVANCE NOTICE). CARLUCCI STILL PRE-
FERS LARGER OPERATION, BUT SAYS HE COULD LIVE WITH THIS.
HIS MAIN CONCERN, ESPECIALLY WITH SOVIET AND EAST GERMANS
NOW RESPONDING, IS TO GET SOMETHING GOING. APPROPRIATE
PRESS GUIDANCE AND PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO COSTA GOMES'
LETTER WILL BE PREPARED, OEPENDING ON YOUR DECISION.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

AS AN ALTERNATIVE, SONNENFELDT AND HYLAND STRONGLY AGREE
ON THE NEED TO INITIATE A LIMITED AIRLIFT, BUT PREFER A
VARIANT OF THE ABOVE, WHICH WOULD INVOLVE THE USE OF AT
LEAST ONE MILITARY AIRCRAFT.

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DISAPPROVE

OPTION 2:

SCOWCROFT RECOMMENDS THAT WE TAKE NO ACTION FOR THE TIME
BEING UNTIL THE SITUATION CLARIFIES.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

OPTION 3:

ACCEPT CARLUCCI'S PREFERENCE FOR A SIX AIRPLANE EFFORT
AS THE PORTUQUESB HAVE REQUESTED.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

DRAFTED:EUR/WE:REBARBOUR CLEARANCES: D-INGERSOLL,
S-EAGLEBURGER, C-SONNENFELDT, INR-HYLAND, NSC-SCOWCROFT,
EUR-LOWENSTEIN, AF-ARENALES, AID-PARKER INGERSOLL

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